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Chapter I

General Ethnographic Data on the Pemón Indians

1. They are Karibe /Carib/ Indians.
2. The denomination Koto.
3. The name Arekuna.
4. Id. Taurepán.
5. Id. Pemón.
6. Number of individuals.
7. Conterminous and neighboring tribes.
8. Moral and intellectual states.
9. Ethnographic characteristics.

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1. The first thing that we customarily ask each individual with whom we are going to enter into conversation is his name or his gracia. Hence I judge it very apt to find out the name of the tribe about whose general characteristics I am going to speak in the present work, which is set on an ethnographic and a psychological plane at the same time.

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Depending upon the glottological criterion, today prevalent, and, even more, adhering to the linguistic principle that "the briefest subject is the oldest," we easily arrive at the conclusion that these Indians are of the Caribe race, and of the most primitive, with primacy perhaps over the very Bakairí proposed by Von Steinen as the primigenous.

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A simple glance at a linguistic map, e.g., that of Fr. W. Schmidt, S. V. D., will make us see that these Indians belong to the "Roroima group." This group is at present the most numerous and dense of all; and the Roroima is the orographic knot about which are grouped more natives, emanating from the prolific Caribe trunk, since the other groups "of the Orinoco" and "of the Islands" have almost entirely disappeared through absorption or other causes.

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But the Karibe of the Roroima group are subdivided into numerous tribes, about the classification and nomenclature of which there reigns great divergency among writers, principally because of the following factors:

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101 a) the innate tendency in every investigator to stress /2/
114 small observed differences and with them to create new tribes,
of which he calls himself the discoverer.

b) the erroneous belief that all of these tribes must each have its own name, its own social organization, and its territory drawn out with a surveyor's chain.

c) the universal tendency (not only of the Indians) to hide names, supposing that they exist; since tribes, like individuals, do not adopt names, but receive them, like the popular saying "I do not name myself; they name me," and, generally, these names imposed by others are based on defects or peculiarities that arouse mirth:

106 2. For a long time and on the oldest maps, there appear applied to the Indians in these regions the names Arinagoto, Cachirigoto, Barinagoto, Purucoto, etc., shuffled about at will. And my readers will recall others, Cumanagoto, Esneregoto, Boquiracoto, etc.

At the present time the Indians also use for themselves and for their neighbors the names Roroima-kok, Inkari-kok, Tei-koi, Pichau-kok, Kapono-kok, Apoipueri-kok, and Kamara-koto.

These names are gentilicious and indicate derivation from the place or district in which they dwell. Koto, goto, kok, and koi mean "inhabitants of." And by this can be interpreted all of the names transcribed above; and thus we would have Kamara-koto, inhabitant of Kamara (ta); Roroima-kok, inhabitant of the Roroima; Inkari-tok, inhabitant of England (British Guiana); Tei-koi, inhabitant of the Sabana, or sabanero, etc.

3. The name "Arekuna" was applied to them later and with the slight variations Yarekuna and Yarikuna. Our Indians generally accept this name for their neighbors, but they reject it for themselves because of the etymological interpretation (although it is false) that they give it, "lake rat," and the somewhat obscene legend that they relate to it.

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101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of 114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word 192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, 193 but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but [114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Tafadell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an [114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

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- /01 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
 192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
 193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
 [114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who
 says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) mairmú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españolero, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

- [114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaissance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

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- 101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains, almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus afluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncouth hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians does not reach 60,000.

101 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona, etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

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175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

123 8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
114 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor
to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the
Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and
even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom
he came to know in his many excursions through the South
American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These
Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in
their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but
never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their
land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and
they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very
much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard
to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries,
that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality.
They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the con-
sequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live
in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature.
The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral
standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called
lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón
Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[286] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /breeding, hatching"/
[291]

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
 [846] 15 cont. / 1. breeding, hatching /
 [771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
 [325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
 [505] they travel in canoes...., they grow and spin cotton and make
 [248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
 [283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
 [286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork.
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Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

- 13/ 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
 ● 101 central part of Guiana in the región of Venezuela, which, 16/
 orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

131/6 cont. /

101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels $4^{\circ} 34'$ and $6^{\circ} 45'$ north longitude */sic/* and the meridians $60^{\circ} 34'$ and $62^{\circ} 50'$ west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolívar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately
35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churf, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

P /55 cont./

842 trip the next day, they do maintain several precautions such
P as putting on moriche sandals, abstaining from certain foods
and from certain acts, nor do they dare to raise their voices.

[114] 118. The patriarch of modern ethnology, Father W.
Schmidt, director of the Vatican Ethnological Museum, sees
three or four degrees of this custom of the couvade: a) absti-
nence from certain foods; b) abstention from certain acts;
c) absolute rest up to staying in bed; d) an imitation by the
man of the pains of childbirth in women.

The Pemón Indians (the men) at the present time only
practice the couvade in the first two degrees. It would seem
that formerly they also practiced the third degree, but only
as a consequence of the first two, since if the Indian wishes to
maintain a rigorous diet and in addition must abstain from
most operations, the most logical and natural thing is that he
should lie down in his hammock and rest, or, as they them-
selves say in their language, adopt the horizontal position,
(esuraika), which is the least tiring one.

From this it is not necessary to infer that the diet should
be fasting, nor even less should we believe in bloody mortifi-
cations, when precisely what is trying to be avoided is all pain,
all fatigue, and all unbalance which by repercussion might
damage the tender infant. For this I judge most exaggerated

C 114 and even contradictory what Roberto Agramonte says about the
846 Caribes, documented in who knows what acts: "Among the
Caribes, the man /56/ fasted for six months and became as
thin as a skeleton; the fast consisted of eating cassava: at the
end of 40 days of fasting (so exact?) the members of the family
covered him with deep scratches until he bled and to martyrize
him even more they washed his wounds with water and red
pepper: then he returned to his hammock, completely sick
and in pain, and continued the fasting until the seventh month,
when he could now eat meat and fish." Let us note once more
●101 that the Pemón, with whom we are dealing, are clearly
Caribes, and among the most primitive of them.

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In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names¹ I have emphasised the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brazil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.²

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The following lists were based, in the first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

¹ 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 593.

² See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

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- 101 Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana
 114 of the Ministerio de Fomento, a department of the Venezuelan Government.
 114 In this connection I am much indebted to the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egasta, and to the organisers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Searritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

- 127 Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kalifa and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

114 Dr. Roe accompanied him in this work, carrying out scientific investigations on the recent mammals of that region. Several hundred fossil bones, remains of gigantic mammals, were collected during the work carried out there and were sent for study and classification to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they will be duly prepared and identified by Dr. Simpson and then divided equally for the enrichment of the collections of the natural history museums of Caracas and of New York. The first prepared material resulting from the continuous and careful work of Dr. Simpson will arrive in Venezuela early in 1941.

Dr. Simpson studied some other localities favorable for the occurrence of fossil mammals in the States of Lara and Trujillo, Venezuela. He also went to the eastern part of the Republic, in the vicinity of Zaraza, where he made interesting finds and studied the fossiliferous strata.

● [10] Subsequently, in May 1939, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Roe were invited to take part in the Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana (the "Great Grassland" and adjacent zones of southeastern Venezuela), organized by the Ministerio de Fomento, and it was there that Dr. Simpson devoted himself with great interest to the scientific and methodical gathering of anthropological and ethnological data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe eagerly devoted himself to the recent mammalian fauna of the regions of Kamarata and Santa Elena, both valuable contributions supplementing the general study of the Gran Sabana region.

The present publication is the result of the detailed investigations carried out by Dr. Simpson with admirable scientific ability. In publishing this monograph on the Kamarakoto Indians, the Revista de Fomento considers it as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of our aborigines, in general, and of the Carib tribes of Venezuelan Guiana, in particular, and wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Simpson and to the American Museum of Natural History of New York for their important scientific collaboration.

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[2.1]

INTRODUCTION

Orientation

● / 0 / At about the time of its discovery by Columbus, the great and varied territory that is now united under the Venezuelan flag was occupied by a large number of highly diverse tribes of Indians. Most of these belonged to two major stocks, or linguistic and cultural divisions, those of the Caribs and Arawaks. Each of these major groups is now known to have arisen from a single origin (linguistically and culturally at least — each may have absorbed much blood originally alien to it), although each includes tribes so separated geographically or in other respects that they were not themselves aware of this basic unity.

/ 0 / Various Carib tribes, loosely or not at all federated, occupied almost all the / 3 / coastal region from near Valencia eastward to Cumana, and other Caribs occupied the shores of Lake Maracaibo except at the northern end and most of the mountains west of the lake far into Colombia, for the Motilones belong to this group. The coast from near the Río Yaracuy, westward into Colombia, including the northern end of Lake Maracaibo and the site of the present city of Maracaibo, was occupied by Arawak tribes, and closely allied Indians covered a vast area inland including almost all of the western llanos. The Andes were occupied by an isolated group, the Timotes, neither Carib nor Arawak in affinity, and an equally isolated group, the Betoys, lived around the northern end of these mountains and northward to the interior of the present state of Falcón.

Elsewhere there were other similarly isolated groups, such as the Warraus (or Guauraus) around the Orinoco Delta region, the Yaruos, Wahibos (or Guahibos), and others on the middle and upper Orinoco, the Waikás (not to be confused with the Carib Akawais who have also been called Waikás, or Guai-cas) at the headwaters of that river, and a few others. Notwithstanding the survival, even today, of several such isolated relict groups and of a few almost equally isolated Arawak tribes, almost all of the wild and enormous

10/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib
13/ stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

177 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places. Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

12/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the nascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

10/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the
13/ Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roróima and the Kamarakotós, around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

10/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela
17/ east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

- 101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the convade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and, not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekunas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Tamrepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

- 101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.¹ They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Anyán-tepui or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[22] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan² influence.
17P the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[17] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic ex-
ample of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an ob-
server can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth pub-
lishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There
has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly
no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists
and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their
first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however,
that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information
was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in gen-
eral, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically
more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk,
have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort.
It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Taven-
1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only stating a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101
114
121 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,³ like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures!⁴ On the linguistic side,
3, 4
1, 1 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into
121 which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date.
131 Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienen, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no
101 means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 information on the location of the "Kamarakotos" of that time, but the infer-
 101 ence from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán
 Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from
 the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Gualcas" of this account were
 doubtless Akawais.⁵ There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence
 that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but
 certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes
 around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been com-
 pletely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and
 cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of
 them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north
 is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to
 the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they
 are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the
 Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers
 to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some
 other northern branch of the Arecunas, who are not mentioned under that name,
 than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been
 limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interest-
 ing, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real eth-
 nographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the
 remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand ac-
 101 count of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does
 refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a cir-
 cumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to
 the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní.

[131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they
 lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there
 before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they
 are Arecunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few
 other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly
 known.⁶

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or re-
 discovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-
 American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were
 the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand con-
 tact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photo-
 graphs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular
 note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the
 tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery
 of Anyán-tepui (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analysis]

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Henry,

- 101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know. ⁷
Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago.

[805] It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

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2[see footnote on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north
of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of
this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from
the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the
dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of
Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there ab-
sorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from
the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarako-
tos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, be-
cause the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed
with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
101 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago,
between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a
tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over
fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war.
There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i. e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's
life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith dis-
appeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of
such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or
others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago.
The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in con-
tact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepui, early in 1939 with
the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials con-
cerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work
possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento,
Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition,
members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks
to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

●/0/ From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Línea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Tsurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Tsurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

123 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details.
J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

121 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade,
128 herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in *italics* (aside from obvious taxo-
119 nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

● 101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, especially the Galibis or Kalifnas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

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37. Bone —
- yeupu
- ,
- yeupe
- .

Persons and Relationships.*192
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38. "Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch) koluma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariho (Koch-Grünberg) urano. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.⁴⁴ Cumanagoto (Adam) hwarazo.⁴⁴ Akawai (Adam) waratio. Bakatri (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Onayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.⁴⁵

39. "Woman, female —
- wari
- . Taurepan
- wori
- .

40. "Person (Indian) —
- pemon
- . Taurepan
- pemon
- .

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41. Bad or wild Indian —
- arbaton
- pemon
- .

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[101]

42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e. g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamara" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) —
- mure
- .

44. Older person —
- uyadeta
- .

45. Younger person —
- yamipe
- .

46. Chief, cacique —
- teburu
- ,
- tepuru
- .

47. Subchief —
- tepuru-tsi-yakon
- .

48. Head of household or village — to-esa. This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the z- rather than of the s-phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p. 311, category 116 — Analysis]

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, urana. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

[17]

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

[114]

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

[114]
[101]

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua," ⁷³ Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. Taurepán, urare⁷. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mōmbá. Taurepán, mōmbá. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsé. Taurepán, kai-kusé. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

⁷³ [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 - Analys]

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563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."
564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pa. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pa. "like an animal."
565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona taukin. "ten plus one." i.e. eleven.
566. Method, means of use — (it)taeru.
567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.
568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.
569. Arekuna.
570. — Pabanston. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

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The following names are given in the legend of Maicha⁹ as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakot⁹ — "from Lupea" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.
572. Karotiai — from the Gran Sabana.
573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.
574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.
575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha⁹.
576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Arito.

Grammar

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[192] My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

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Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*197 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto mailuri = Taurepán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

● 101
114 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.⁹² He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroní Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroní Indians Arekunas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

* [M] 92 [see footnote on p 217, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 101 may be distinguishable as another such group.⁹³ Probably the Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg represents still another local group and dialect.⁹⁴

*197 Among adequately known Carib languages, Makuchi is certainly the closest to Arekuna. It is, as would be expected from the geographic relationship, more similar to Taurepán than to Kamarakoto. Makuchi and Taurepán are, indeed, so much alike that they might almost be considered dialects of one language, although it is more convenient and can be justified on a balance of various considerations to classify them in different languages.⁹⁵

*197 101 Next in order of resemblance is the dialect called Ingariko by Koch-Grünberg, which, as he points out, is not properly a linguistic or tribal name. It means simply "forest dwellers" and the forest Indians northeast of Roróima for whom he uses this name may be a branch of the Akawais and the language a dialect of Akawai. In any case, it is closer to Arekuna than is true or typical Akawai. The latter may be placed next in order of resemblance, along with Purukoto, Sapara and Wayumara, languages and tribes of Brazil, at the southeastern margin of the Arekuna area and near the Purukotos, are rapidly waning and may even be extinct now. These languages are definitely less like Arekuna than is Purukoto but still are recognizably related.

*197 The poorly known language Krishana and the likewise poorly known and now extinct Paravilhana, both spoken farther south in Brazil, may perhaps be taken as the most distant and least closely allied (to Kamarakoto) of this general group of languages, scattered over a great expanse with Roróima more or less in the center.

[459] 101 Maquiritare, with its four or more dialects, differs more from Arekuna than do the languages just mentioned and may conveniently be placed in a separate group. Kamarakotos who have traded with the Pabanaton, as they call the Maquiritares, informed me that the language of the latter is quite incomprehensible to a Kamarakoto.

Other Carib languages are still more distant in relationships, although all those of what is called the "Main Division" in the classification given above have definite similarities and even occasional identical words.

[101] The Kamarakotos are surrounded by other Carib tribes on all sides and their remote valleys are almost in the geographic center of the far-flung distribution of this great family of Indians. Their dialect is certainly one of the purest known. Carib studies have not progressed far enough to reconstruct a proto-Carib or to identify the real root forms of words in the strictest sense, but there is some reason to believe that Kamarakoto is also a relatively primitive and undegenerate form of Carib. Its sharp and forceful articulation, in contrast even with Taurepán and still more so with many more distant dialects, suggests the retention of strong forms of words that elsewhere have often been slurred and simplified. Of course, among contemporaneous dialects it is never possible to construct a scale from the most primitive to the most advanced or

93-95 [see footnotes on pp. 317-18, category 116 - Analysis]

[133] the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
 [103] the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepül, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepül.

[31] As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
 [361] the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
 [103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
 [169] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.⁹⁷ Many of
 [261] the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

[31] The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
 [137] to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

● [101] To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are extremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
 [619] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
 [132] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
 [189] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekmas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
 [114] group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present

101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analysis]

- 1/4 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group. 98

Census

- 103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is
probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

	<u>Name of place</u>	<u>Head man</u> (to ⁹ -esa ⁹)	<u>Number of men</u>
103 162 551	KAMARATA:		
621 622	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Upináu-tepúl.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11

AKANAMUINTA:

Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
		Total in Akanamuinta-12

AKANAN VALLEY:

Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
	(Lorenzo. 99	3
Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel. 99	4
Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
Ipupaipun.	Rolando.	4
Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
Uaikimba*.	Pablo Abati.	1
Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

110

103	Benné.	Lorenzo. 99	3
162	Amidán.	José Rangel. 99	4
551	Abaraparí.	(Not recorded.)	2
621			
622			
			Total in Akanán Valley
			(below Akanamuinta) - 37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatōi.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadelkupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
		Total others - 7

Total men in central group - 78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably
about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this
region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more
than 300. 100

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and
its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might
be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any
other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated out-
side this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For compari-
son, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
• [101] gives 820 Taurapánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana. 101

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analysis]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
338 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
334 pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, bawn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Urúyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
● [101] family-groups do not occur. Urúyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karōi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
224 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air.

Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberō. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yé³, a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberō, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.

149 From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawōri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberō.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches. 138 The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

21 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28
101 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community. 139

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analysis]

*285
171 The particular variety of wrapping that Roth calls locked or imbricate is unknown to the Kamarakotos and although Roth is not completely explicit on this point it appears to be nearly confined to the Arawaks and Warrans, but borrowed by a few adjacent Caribs. Its essential character is that the warp¹⁵¹ is horizontal and either that it is looped (or wrapped) alternately by successive weft strands or that these interlock between themselves, or both. There are at least four definitely different techniques under this general subdivision, but they are not specified in the classification because none of them appear to be known to the Kamarakotos or to the Arekunas in general. Their special interest from a broader point of view is that they do constitute another limited and exceptional group of basketry techniques, like twining and wrapping, that cannot like almost all the basketry techniques of this culture area be closely related to plaiting.

*285
171 True coiling is quite unknown anywhere in this area, which is thus characterized by the exuberant development of plaiting and derived techniques. ●101 the sporadic and scanty development of the true weaving techniques (aside from those developed from plaiting) and the absence of the coiling techniques. This culture area is thus well distinguished, in this respect, not only from the almost completely different western North American areas but also from western South America, Mexico with Central America, and eastern North America. It is, however, interesting and significant that it does show unmistakable affinity with a relatively small area in southeastern United States (10 of Weltfish's map, 1930, Fig. 2), an area of quite distinct basic culture but one showing definite West Indian, and thence indirectly South American, influence, short-circuiting the long overland cultural transitions by way of Central America.¹⁵² It is also pertinent to Schmidt's thesis that this is the only part of North America (beyond the transitional Central American region) where materials analogous to the South American palm leaves were generally available.

Within the categories of plaiting and woven plaiting, almost every reasonable possibility has been explored by the various Indians of this culture area and, as shown by the classification, the Kamarakotos use varieties of most
*285
171 of the subdivisions of these techniques. I found among them no examples of what would seem superficially to be the simplest techniques of all: checked plain plaiting and closed checked woven plaiting. Roth gives some examples from British Guiana, but even there these techniques are evidently rare. In fact these are techniques that would be avoided by skilled workers and they may even be more difficult than twilled work because the usual basketry materials of this region are not flexible enough to close easily when the overlaps are as close together as they must be in the checked pattern.

Open checked woven plaiting is also eschewed by the Kamarakotos and probably by most or all of their allies, although Koch-Grünberg found examples
*285 on the Rio Negro. This produces a relatively weak fabric decidedly inferior

151, 152 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analysis]

539

● [10]

pemón-don yeupüi maicha' ereukai.
 "People (Indians) are coming. Maichak to kill."

Many Indians were coming. Among them were²¹⁶

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.

Karopakot': from near Lucpa.

Karotai: from the Gran Sabana.

Nungakoi: from Brazil.

Mwerwan: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

[103]

[10]

Maichak understood the woman to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.²¹⁷ Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane²¹⁸ to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,²¹⁹ and the fibers became the long hairs on the anteater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements

a. The tapanita.

b. The rattle.

— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following tables:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	148.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepānes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult
 142 Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of
 ● [10] Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa
 (i. e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas
 of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but
 these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at
 least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although
 141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with
 [128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases
 excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

P

141

P

[144]
[101]

These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

P

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The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine. 238

P

141

The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and
30 to 33²³⁹ Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnote on p. 335, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 296]

Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940

SS16 Pemón SS16
Kamarakoto

295a



Fig. 94 - Arekuna Adult Male.

No. 3, one of the Caroni Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos but not belonging to the central group of that tribe.

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296

Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and
10 to 13²⁴⁰ Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.²⁴¹

Growth

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the 240, 241 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 - Analysis]

113

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● (101)
114
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[p 305]

FOOTNOTES

114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

● 101
128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101
114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Areakunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Areakunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

306

● 101

5. They² were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114

101

6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114

7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177

192

8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113

9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1918.

104

10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194

11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with õ and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate öi.

[104]

14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

‡ [i.e. the Acawai - Analyr†]

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout
Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "təʃ" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retsáta, from "retratar" which they often
heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided
was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a
relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are
very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

147 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired
a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not
use among themselves.

● 101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they
are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the
Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[127] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the
Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to
precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in
others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any
comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect
studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán
dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes
that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually
spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several
different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán
is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in
intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Cama-
rata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really
Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indi-
cation of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses
are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline.
At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and
there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population
of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here)
has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a
whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is
now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and
doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely
that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence
that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that
the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers
(see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Ka-
marakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the
name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial pho-
netics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the
Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same
name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women,
and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén,
for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are
counted as men.

- 101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.
- 173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.
- 551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.
- 551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.
- 343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.
- 342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.
- 241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant koŋra, the root kōŋ, and the prepared bread eke.
- [114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.
- [173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[172] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?
- 237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286]

150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

● 101/171 152. Thus Wisler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

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227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285
252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use otapa for sifting.

*285
171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

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215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

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216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

[648]

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[P25]

217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[P24]

218. "Tirita," manare.

[P25]

219. The great anteater, warcin.

[P25]

220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai', which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103]

222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

[P23]

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223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
246 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident
that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite,
ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice
common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here,
since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh
now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

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114 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

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171 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
158 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasion-
al clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

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177 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

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296 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own
clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree
to their spending so much time on ours.

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286 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

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• [101] 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[184] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not
recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their
number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not
know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes,
although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness
of such messages.

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311 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that
this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians?
In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage
(but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

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123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
144 male series does not have such a gap.
P
M
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239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

P
M
141 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i. e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
● 101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic dif-
ferences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.